my reminiscences

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Committee
h Centenary Celebrations of
Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

MY REMINISCENCES
OF
QUAID-I-AZAM

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A Collection of Interviews and Talks with Quaid-i-Azam during November 1942 to May 1943

by

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my beloved daughters, Abida Toosy and Zahida Ijaz, the first of whom laid down her life as the first victim of the Indian war of aggression on 6th September, 1965. The second is still serving the nation as a doctor.

FOREWORD BY AUTHOR

THE idea of writing a book on 'My Reminiscences of Quaid-i-Azam' came to my mind when I read in the press that a National Committee has been set up in Islamabad, with Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as Chairman, to observe Quaid-i-Azam's Centenary Celebrations in 1976 and to publish a number of books dealing with various aspects of the Quaid-i-Azam's life and mission. I searched my old papers and found that I had recorded, in brief, a number of interviews with the Quaid-i-Azam during the period November 1942 to May 1943. This was the time when I had been actually engaged by the Quaid-i-Azam to compile and publish political literature on his behalf on the Muslim demand for Pakistan and its ideology. My assignment also included the writing of a brief account of the history of Muslim League from 1906 onward and the role of the Quaid-i-Azam as its President in promoting national consciousness among Muslims of India for asserting their right of self-determination to form an independent Muslim State comprising Muslim majority zones in the north-west and north-east of India.

In compliance with the wishes of the Quaid-i-Azam, I collected my selected writings, which had already been published in the *Eastern Times*, *Dawn* and other Muslim papers, and obtained approval from the Quaid-i-Azam for their publication in the form of two books: *Pakistan and Muslim India* and *Nationalism in Conflict in India.* A joint foreword for both the books was written by the Quaid-i-Azam, the concluding paragraph of which said: "I have undertaken to write this foreword in order to command these two books to all readers who want to understand the problem of India's future constitution and its solution and I feel confident that anyone who reads them dispassionately and with an open mind will find by the sheer facts and figures and historical and political arguments advanced that partition of India is in the interest of both the major

nations, Hindus and Muslims." These books came out in December, 1942.

After these books I got busy over the third book to be entitled "History of Muslim League and Pakistan Freedom Movement". The typed draft consisted of 362 pages, grouped into 28 chapters. This draft was handed over by me personally to the Quaid-i-Azam to be reviewed and published. But it so happened that political developments in the country spared no time for the Quaid-i-Azam to read the draft. I kept on reminding him from time to time to arrange its publication. In his letter dated 24th September, 1945, Quaid-i-Azam wrote to me: "I cannot apply my mind at present to the manuscript referred to by you as my whole attention is concentrated on the forthcoming elections." This typed draft was discovered in Quaid-i-Azam's papers and a photostat copy of it was given to me on 14th August, 1975. I have now revised it and brought it up-to-date by adding to it nine more chapters, covering the period from 1942 to 1948. This book will be published by the National Book Foundation.

It was in connection with this book that I was permitted by the Quaid-i-Azam, during my stay in Bombay and Delhi, to meet him occasionally to seek clarifications on certain political issues. I recorded notes of my interviews. Some of these remained preserved while some were misplaced or lost. However, I have managed to reproduce from my memory all those notes which I could not trace out from my old records. The present book "My Reminiscences of Quaid-i-Azam" is based on these notes of my interviews and discussions with Quaid-i-Azam mainly during the months of January to March, 1943 and also records my impressions of Quaid-i-Azam as I saw him from close quarters.

What impressed me most about the Quaid-i-Azam was his retentive memory, grasp of political affairs, tenacity of purpose and will, uprightness and strength of character, devotion to duty and unbounded faith in Islam and a regenerated Muslim world. A complete study of his life can alone bring out for the new generation the greatness of Quaid-i-Azam as the saviour of the Muslim nation, which owes its very existence to his lifelong devotion to their cause.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH QUAID-I-AZAM

I had been in correspondence with the Quaid-i-Azam through his Private Secretary, Mr. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, and had received thirteen letters between November 1940 and October 1942. In his letter dated February 12, 1941, the Private Secretary wrote to me: "Quaid-i-Azam thanks you for all the work that you are doing. He suggested to me if you could write a small booklet giving a summary of what the Muslim League has done and what it stands for, he will give you all the help that you may require. He has a great treasure of material and he can place that at your disposal in case you undertake the work. Mr. Jinnah has liked your article that appeared in the *Eastern Times* recently which you have called Political Deadlock in India. It is a fair summary, he says, of the recent events and if in the same way you could write a short account of the principal events during the period beginning from 1936 up to the present moment, I am sure it will be a very useful work. In this connection I would suggest that if you can come to Delhi conveniently please do so and have a talk with Mr. Jinnah concerning the way in which you would be required or you would like to do it."

Earlier, the Quaid-i-Azam had written to *Eastern Times*, Lahore, on 25th November, 1940, to send him all the articles which I had contributed for publication in the form of two books under the headings: "Muslim Demand for Separation" and "Congress Exposed". Some of these articles had already been incorporated in a book entitled *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution* published by Quaid-i-Azam in October 1940, some six months after the Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940, popularly known

as "Pakistan Resolution". But Quaid-i-Azam wanted to publish the remaining articles also. These were sent to him by me direct as mentioned in the foreword and were brought out by Quaid-i-Azam with his own forewords on 25th December, 1942, from Delhi in the form of two books entitled *Pakistan and Muslim India* and *Nationalism in Conflict in India.*

The Quaid-i-Azam chose me for writing a brief history of Pakistan Movement because I had contributed more than 300 articles to the press between 1939 and 1941 on Pakistan and its ideology. From a letter dated 8th January, 1941, addressed to me by Quaid-i-Azam's Private Secretary, it had become evident to me that I would be required sooner or later to offer my services to Quaid-i-Azam. This letter, which was a great encouragement for me, said: "Your essays are very much appreciated by all who have read the booklet, *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution.* In fact, there was a gentleman at Karachi who told Mr. Jinnah that Mr. Toosy was capable of writing a book which would be a book of the revolution just as *Mein Kampf* is of Nazi Revolution or *Das Capital* of the proletariat or Rights of Man of the French Revolution. I think you should be satisfied with this appreciation for the present. I am sure you are doing much greater service to the community by placing before them the correct interpretation of the viewpoint of the All India Muslim League than you could do in any other way. All of us cannot take part in active politics and your services will be appreciated more and more as the time advances."

After I had received these two letters, I started thinking of calling on Quaid-i-Azam to offer my services in any way he required. It took me almost a year to come to a final decision but during this time I continued contributing articles to the press and kept myself in close contact with Quaid-i-Azam through his Private Secretary. Then, one day, I received a special message from Quaid-i-Azam, conveyed to me through Mian Bashir Ahmad, Member, All-India Muslim League Working Committee, to the effect that I should apply for leave from service and proceed at once to Delhi

to see Quaid-i-Azam who was very keen that some literature should be published on Pakistan. I was at that time Headmaster of M.B. High School, Wazirabad, run by the Municipal Committee which had delegated all administrative powers regarding the school to the Punjab Education Department. To avoid delay in getting my leave sanctioned, Mian Bashir Ahmad approached Mr. S.M. Sharif, the then Deputy Director of Education, Punjab, and I was granted leave without pay for six months from November 1942 to May 1943. I then informed the Quaid-i-Azam, telegraphically, that I would call on him on Sunday, 9th November, 1942, at his residence in Delhi.

After reaching Delhi, I first called on Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan at his residence, Gul-e-Rana, in Delhi. He was happy to see me, entertained me to tea, and advised me to see Quaid-i-Azam immediately. He informed Quaid-i-Azam on phone about my arrival. So when at 4 p.m. I reached Quaid-i-Azam's residence, he received me at the entrance and led me to his dining room where Miss Fatima Jinnah was sitting for her tea. Quaid-i-Azam introduced me to his sister, saying: "Here is Mr. Toosy who has done so much useful work for our nation and about whom I have often spoken to you." While having tea, Quaid-i-Azam briefed me on what I had to do. He said I should collect all my writings and divide them in two categories for immediate publication in book form: (i) those which justified Muslim demand for Pakistan and explained its genesis and ideology and dealt with problems that were likely to arise like the Sikh question, defence, financial resources, and (ii) those that exposed Congress opposition to Pakistan, refuted their arguments against it, analysed the causes of Hindu-Muslim split and cited examples from the political experience of other countries. He even had the names of the books thought out: "Pakistan and Muslim India", and "Nationalism in Conflict in India." He suggested that I should stay in Delhi till the end of December to complete the work as early as possible. His deadline was met, and the two books were published by the end of December, 1942.

After this Quaid-i-Azam gave me another assignment which he described as the main purpose for which my services were specially required. This was to prepare a brief account of the History of Muslim Freedom Movement from 1906 up to 1942 with special emphasis on the role of Muslim League with Quaid-i-Azam as its President. He said he would have very much liked to write the book himself, but his engagements left him no time to write on a serious subject which required concentrated attention for several months. He added: "The Congress has a good deal of literature to its credit, and its leaders are very much in the lime-light in America and England on account of the vast propaganda and publicity resources at their disposal." He went on: "I have read almost all your articles with keen interest. You seem to me a scholar who has gained much experience through study and practice in writing. I am confident you can do the work required of you."

Then the Quaid-i-Azam told me that I would be well paid for my labours and offered me 50 per cent more salary than I was getting as Headmaster. Imbued as I was with a sense of mission, I had nothing to say in reply and happily accepted the offer. Then he informed me that he had considerable material with him in his private library at Bombay and I could avail myself of all the books in his possession. He further suggested that he would get me enrolled as member of the Asiatic Library. I was also allowed to see him, whenever I felt it necessary, in connection with the work entrusted to me. He also wanted to be kept informed of the progress of work. The interview then ended in a very congenial atmosphere. I left happy and satisfied with the feeling that Quaid-i-Azam and his sister had great regard for me for the services already rendered by me to the cause of my nation.

THE DAILY "DAWN"

DURING my four months' stay in Delhi I occupied a room in the upper storey of All-India Muslim League Office at Daryagunj. I did all my writing work in this room, which also served the purpose of an office for me. While there I had frequent opportunities to meet a large number of people, among them staff members of *Dawn,* Muslim League workers and office-bearers who visited the League Office. One day I was invited to tea by Muslim young men employed in the Civil Secretariat, Delhi. They raised certain questions about the policy of *Dawn.* Their main objection was that Muslims were not properly represented on the *Dawn* staff, although it was purely a Muslim paper. They argued that while Quaid-i-Azam demanded more representation for Muslims in Central Legislature than their population warranted, yet adequate representation was denied to Muslims in their own newspaper, *Dawn.* I promised to bring their viewpoint to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam.

Accordingly, I sought the earliest opportunity to acquaint the Quaid with their grievances. Accompanied by some of the young men, I called on Quaid-i-Azam at his residence, 10, Aurangzeb Road, which had since been purchased by Quaid-i-Azam from Sardar Hukam Singh for one lakh rupees. I told Quaid-i-Azam about my meeting at the Secretariat Canteen. I conveyed to him the complaint that there were only three young Muslims on the staff of *Dawn* who worked as news editors and were never asked to write leaders even on special Islamic occasions like festivals. That, besides Pothan Joseph, who was the Chief Editor, there were three other non-Muslims on the *Dawn* staff. One of them

was Abraham Jones, Assistant Editor, considered to be a favourite of the Chief Editor, because he wanted his daughter to be married to him. A Hindu, Vasudeva, was the cartoonist and a Bengalee Hindu, Chatterjee, was the accountant. Quaid-i-Azam listened to me patiently and then said: "Mr. Toosy, we have given more than 50 per cent representation to Muslims if the entire staff is taken into consideration. Our real difficulty has been that we could not find competent Muslims for the salaries that we could afford to pay. Apart from the Chief Editor, whose case is an exception and who is a man of outstanding merit, three posts carry salaries between Rs. 250 and Rs. 300, while the rest carry an initial start of Rs. 100 per month. We could not get a competent Muslim who could agree to work as Assistant Editor or accountant for Rs. 250 or as cartoonist for Rs. 300. In every case, the Muslims pressed for a higher salary than it was possible under the circumstances. But I hope, in due course, the matter will be set right. The three Muslim young men on the staff are quite new to their jobs, and as they gain experience their work will certainly be recognised at an appropriate time." He added: "I may tell you that even the post of Chief Editor was advertised along with others, but no competent Muslim was prepared to accept the salary which the management offered. Mr. Siddiqi from Calcutta had applied for the job, but he demanded an excessively high salary which we cannot afford at the initial stage when the paper has yet to establish itself on a sound footing. Pothan Joseph accepted our terms and conditions and was appointed."

I then brought to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam that Pothan Joseph could not be expected to write suitable editorials on occasions which were most important from Muslim point of view, such as the two Eids, Moharram, Prophet's Birthday, etc. I said he wrote "Over a Cup of Tea" very well, but he provided space sometimes for the expression of communist views in *Dawn's* columns and did not care to take into confidence young Muslims of his staff. Quaid-i-Azam wanted me to refer the matter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan who was the Manager of *Dawn*. He advised me to give

him in writing the points which needed special attention and promised that they would be looked into.

The Quaid-i-Azam then chatted with the young men and asked whether they belonged to Jamiatul Ulama or Jamaat-e-Islami. They replied they were followers of Deoband school of thought. The conversation ended, and the young men felt satisfied. They were entertained to tea and left after expressing thanks for the courtesy shown to them.

Following the directive of Quaid-i-Azam I called on Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in his office in Latifi Press building. Syed Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Office Secretary of Muslim League Head Office at Delhi, was also present. I knew Nawabzada as I had met him earlier at his residence, Gul-e-Rana, on arrival in Delhi on 9th November, 1942. I found Nawabzada reclining on an easy chair. He looked tired and exhausted. It seemed he had spent some very busy days in office work as the Honorary Secretary of All-India Muslim League. This was confirmed on enquiry afterwards by Syed Shamsul Hasan who told me that Nawabzada had had no rest for several days and had to stay for long hours in the office in connection with League's organizational work.

Syed Shamsul Hasan submitted some routine papers for Nawabzada's signature. In his presence, I handed over a note to Nawabzada, detailing in brief the main points of criticism of the policy of *Dawn's* Chief Editor, Mr. Pothan Joseph. This is what the note said relating to *Dawn:*

1. It encourages propaganda in favour of Soviet Russia. Press cuttings are attached.
2. Contributions from Muslim writers are not encouraged.
3. It carries indecent articles from foreign magazines.
4. Leaders are written on uninteresting and unimportant subjects, while important topics of the day on which public needs to be enlightened are often ignored. No leaders are writen, to my knowledge, on important Muslim festivals such as Prophet's Birthday, Moharram, etc.

5. The English is generally of the old type. Antiquated and archaic phraseology is used. The arguments are confused and unconvincing.
6. No news concerning Muslim countries is given systematically.
7. Important affairs concerning Muslim majority provinces, particularly the Punjab, are ignored. The Punjab Legislative Assembly debates are never reported in time.
8. "Over a Cup of Tea", no doubt, suits the taste of many readers, but not more than a column or two should be reserved for it. No first class daily can afford to waste the precious space of its second page for the sake of mere humour, which is often dull and stale.
9. The cartoons often show no originality. It requires a lot of thinking to understand the object aimed at, and even then the picture is not very clear.
10. Headlines are generally carelessly given. No pains seem to be taken to select appropriate headings for important news items.
11. News concerning the Congress and Mr. Gandhi are given undue importance and prominence.
12. Important articles or contributions from prominent writers in other Muslim papers are seldom reported.
13. The get-up and printing are not satisfactory. Proofs are not properly read and hence many words are misprinted.
14. Lastly, the paper does not give the impression on the whole that it stands for the Muslim League and the ideology of Pakistan. The Muslim intelligentsia expect *Dawn* to espouse their national cause in a forceful and convincing manner.

The Nawabzada read the note and said he had not been able to read *Dawn* for the last several days as he had been very busy. He, however, agreed that the points mentioned in the note deserved special consideration as *Dawn* was a Muslim newspaper and was primarily meant to espouse the cause and ideology of Pakistan

and be the guardian of Muslim interests. He then suggested to me that I should also see the Chief Editor, Mr. Pothan Joseph, and explain to him my point of view.

I met Mr. Pothan Joseph in his office the same day. At first, he showed some indifference to me, but when I disclosed to him that I had been specially engaged by the Quaid-i-Azam to compile and publish literature on Pakistan and write a brief history of the Pakistan Movement and the Muslim League, he became attentive and listened more carefully. I mentioned all the points that I had earlier brought to the notice of the Nawabzada as Manager of *Dawn*. Mr. Pothan Joseph was then very considerate and instead of entering into a discussion with me, he promised to bear in mind what I had stated and also invited contributions from me for *Dawn*. I was also enlisted as its first permanent correspondent. Thereafter, I noted that *Dawn* was publishing articles in support of Pakistan and its ideology very frequently, and I was satisfied with the policy of the Chief Editor.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S LIBRARY

WHEN the Quaid-i-Azam and his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, left Delhi for Bombay in December, 1942, his Secretary, Mr. M.H. Saiyid, and I followed them a day later.

In Bombay, I stayed with my brother, M.A. Toosy (now retired as Commodore of Pakistan Navy and serving with the Kuwait Government), who was a Dufferin Cadet. The next day I went to see the Quaid-i-Azam at his residence and had a brief meeting with him. He told me that I should spend some time in his private library to select books which would be helpful to me in writing the book on 'Pakistan Freedom Movement' from 1906 to 1942.

I accompanied the Quaid-i-Azam to his library, which was in a spacious upstairs room, measuring 18 by 15 feet. The shelves, one above the other, were stacked with books. In the four corners of the room, heaps of newspapers, magazines and letters were lying in loose bundles. It seemed all these had remained there for a long time and had been preserved as useful records. The floor of the room was paved with marble slabs and there were marble seats all along the shelves so that a dozen persons at a time could be seated to study the books. The room was quite airy, with sufficient light coming through the ventilators.

The Quaid-i-Azam remained with me for about an hour and took his seat by my side on a marble stool. He was informally dressed in a shirt and pant and talked to me in a very polite and familiar manner. He began searching the shelves for the books I needed for reference and study. He took out books one by one, read their titles and if he found one useful for me, he placed it on a

marble stool. He selected more than 50 books which, in his opinion, were relevant to the period under my study. Then he opened his almirahs. I noted that there were books in separate sections on Parliamentary Debates, Constitution, Politics, Religion, History and English Literature. Some books had duplicate copies also. The Quaid-i-Azam told me to prepare a list of books of which he had two copies, and later on was kind enough to allow me to retain one copy for my own use. After an hour, the Quaid left me alone in the library and came downstairs to attend to his office work.

I continued to consult this library for 11 more days. Daily I arrived there at about 6 a.m. and stayed there till 11 a.m. My preliminary task was to arrange the books in the shelves in their proper order, to remove the old newspapers and magazines which had grown dusty and soiled and dispose of them if they were unserviceable.

At the same time I sorted out letters according to the names of their writers and discovered Allama Iqbal's letters addressed to Quaid-i-Azam from time to time. These I collected with great care. As they were all written in Allama Iqbal's own hand, I had some difficulty in reading them. I copied them in my own hand, and then had them typed. Finally, I approached the Quaid-i-Azam for permission to get them published. At first he did not seem inclined to their publication. It took me some time to explain that these letters were of great historical importance from the Muslim point of view and that if wide publicity was given to them, they would add immensely to the popularity of Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam, particularly in the Punjab where the Muslims held Allama Iqbal in the highest esteem for his devotion to the cause of Islam through his poems and writings. I pointed out one particular letter of Allama Iqbal in which he had written to Quaid-i-Azam: "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look to for safe guidance." I said if such views of Allama Iqbal about Quaid-i-Azam were known to Muslim intelligentsia, the Pakistan movement would receive a great momentum all over Muslim India.

The Quaid-i-Azam finally agreed to the publication of these letters. I wrote a foreword on his behalf, of which the original with corrections here and there in Quaid-i-Azam's hand is still preserved with me. This book was published by a Lahore firm under the heading "Iqbal's Letters to Jinnah".

During my visits to the Quaid-i-Azam's library I took notes from books of importance to my work and obtained the Quaid's permission to retain with me permanently the duplicate copies of some 50 books, which now form part of my private library. The book which had brought me to the library was completed later, but could not be published for reasons mentioned by me in the foreword.

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

THE Quaid-i-Azam gave me his views on matters which I brought to his notice from time to time in connection with the work assigned to me. After I had written three chapters of the book, I was to review the events from 1919 to 1923. In November, 1919, All-India Khilafat Conference had chalked out a programme of non-cooperation at the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi who promised Muslims unconditional support of the Hindu community. A special session of All-India Muslim League was held at Calcutta under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam. In his presidential address Quaid-i-Azam strongly criticised the attitude of the British Government towards the Khilafat question and at the same time advised the Muslims to consider dispassionately the implications of non-cooperation before adopting it in its entirety.

In my interview with the Quaid on January 15, 1943, I requested him to clarify his position on non-cooperation issue. He told me he was in full agreement with Ali Brothers on the Khilafat question, but he had some misgivings about Mr. Gandhi who he thought was exploiting Muslims for his own ends. The Ali Brothers were undoubtedly very sincere and devoted Muslims who were prepared to sacrifice everything for the restoration of Turkish Caliphate, but in their extreme sentimentalism they lost sight of the implications of non-cooperation movement. Its aims in the initial stage were renunciation of Government titles, boycott of schools, colleges and courts, and in the final stage withdrawal from police and army service and non-payment of taxes. As subsequent events proved, the Muslims suffered untold hardships, whereas the Hindus kept themselves aloof from the movement. The Quaid-i-Azam, explaining this point, said: "Non-cooperation led to mass emigration of thousands of Muslims to Afghanistan

in the name of *Hijrat* and the oppression of Muslim Moplas in Malabar. Pandit Malavia, who was secretly in alliance with Mr. Gandhi and also in touch with the Viceroy, did not favour non-cooperation and gave exaggerated accounts of the Khilafat agitation as if it were aimed at establishing Muslim Raj in India." According to Quaid-i-Azam, both Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Malavia were jealous of Ali Brothers at heart and wanted to curb the immense influence they exercised over Muslims.

Mr. Gandhi, he said, wanted to use the Khilafat agitation to his advantage by forcing the British Government to come to terms with him on political issues facing India without any previous settlement with the Muslim League. On the other hand, Pandit Malavia lost no time in convincing the Viceroy that Muslims had grown violent in their support of the Khilafat cause and should be punished for their misbehaviour in Malabar and other places. At the instance of Mr. Gandhi, Ali Brothers enforced boycott of Aligarh University, but when the turn of Benaras University came Mr. Gandhi pretended illness and refused to accompany Ali Brothers to Benaras.

The Quaid-i-Azam continued: "The Moplas had risen in arms on the Khilafat question. They had undoubtedly damaged Government property and done some violent deeds but their agitation was given a religious colour and Hindu leaders magnified it as the movement for Muslim Raj and for the conversion of Hindus to Islam. The British Government saw its opportunity to wreak full vengeance on Muslim Moplas."

The Quaid said he did not agree with the idea of *Hijrat* to Afghanistan as it was not practicable or feasible. It resulted in immense hardships for Muslims. No previous arrangement had been made with the Afghan Government or any other Muslim agency to see that Muslim emigrants would be properly received and treated.

I then asked the Quaid-i-Azam about how Ali Brothers came to lose their faith in Mr. Gandhi. The Quaid said: "Non-cooperation had failed to achieve its main objective: the restoration

of the Caliphate. The Khilafat Committee lost its influence in course of time and the Muslim League re-established its old position. The Hindu Mahasabha asserted itself as a Hindu organisation with the militant programme of *Shudhi* and *Sangthan*. Dr. Kitchlew, an erstwhile Congress nationalist, set up a counter movement to start *Tanzim* and *Tabligh*. Ali Brothers were in full sympathy with Dr. Kitchlew in this new venture. Mr. Gandhi's articles in the *Harijan* advising Hindus to learn the art of self-defence against Muslim Moplas and his shedding of crocodile tears at Hindu atrocities on innocent Muslims at Kohat estranged Ali Brothers' sympathies from Mr. Gandhi. Maulana Mohammad Ali openly said that he was a Muslim first and last. This was in reply to Mr. Gandhi's assertion: "For me there are no politics but religion. They subserve religion."

The first disillusionment of Ali Brothers, the Quaid continued, came in the Cocanada Congress Session held in Madras in 1923 when both the schemes devised by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai on one side and by C.R. Dass on the other to bring about Hindu-Muslim settlement were rejected by the Congress as detrimental to the interests of the Hindu community. There was such a storm of opposition against the authors of these schemes that they were even denied the opportunity to defend themselves. Subsequently the Nehru Report and the First Round Table Conference opened the eyes of Ali Brothers that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress were not prepared to concede the Muslim demand for due representation in legislatures and services.

On my asking about the details of the two schemes rejected by the Congress at its Cocanada Session, the Quaid-i-Azam told me that Dr. Ansari along with Lala Lajpat Rai had devised a plan which was in reality the report of the special committee appointed by the Indian National Congress held in September, 1923, at Delhi to prepare the draft of a national pact. This pact was known as the Indian National Pact. It took into account an earlier resolution of the Muslim League held at Lucknow in March of the same year, appointing a sub-committee to collaborate with the committee

to be appointed by the Congress. This pact was not given any consideration by the Congress because it was in an angry mood over the Bengal Pact which had been drawn up by C.R. Dass to settle the communal question in Bengal. The Bengal Pact was an improvement on the Lucknow Pact, which had offered only 40 per cent seats to Muslims in the Bengal Provincial Assembly wheras on the basis of population they deserved 54 per cent of the elected seats. For further details, the Quaid-i-Azam advised me to look up Dr. Ambedkar's Book "Thoughts on Pakistan".

QUAID-I-AZAM'S DAILY LIFE

WHEN I was in Bombay in the months of January and February, 1943, I attended the Quaid-i-Azam's office at Malabar Hill on Mount Pleasant Road. The office was in front of his residence on the ground floor. One day I reached the office very early to see Quaid-i-Azam's daily routine. The Quaid-i-Azam took his breakfast at 6 a.m. His daily dak and newspapers were lying in heaps on his desk. First he read all the important daily newspapers, including *Bombay Chronicle*, *Hindustan Times*, and almost all Hindu newspapers. He particularly noted editorials and statements of Congress leaders. Those which criticised Pakistan or Muslim League and its policy and needed contradiction were marked with a red pencil for a second reading. Almost an hour was spent in reading newspapers and marking material for a second reading.

He then turned to his daily mail, mainly consisting of letters from all over India, which kept him informed about the progress of Muslim League and political developments in various provinces. The letters which were of an important nature and needed immediate reply were kept apart from those which could be replied as a matter of routine. Such was the size of his mail that he could not find time to dictate replies to each and every letter. But he did go through each letter and then summoned his stenographer to dictate replies to those letters which he considered urgent and important. The remaining letters, which were not of an urgent nature, but had to be replied directly by the Quaid-i-Azam were handed over to the Private Secretary to draft their replies. He signed these replies after reading them carefully and making corrections if any. Other letters of an unimportant nature were answered by the Private Secretary.

There was a letter from Sheikh Ataullah, a professor at Aligarh University, offering his services in editing and publishing the letters addressed to Quaid-i-Azam by Allama Iqbal from time to time. The Quaid gave this letter to me for reply, as in those days I was entrusted with the work of arranging the publication of the book: "Iqbal's letters to Jinnah". So I replied to Sheikh Ataullah on behalf of Quaid-i-Azam that Iqbal's letters were already being published by a Lahore firm and thanked him for the offer made.

It took the Quaid-i-Azam more than an hour every day to dictate replies to his letters. After that interviews were held between 9 a.m. and 12 noon and again in the afternoon between 3 and 5 p.m. All visitors came by previous appointment. The Private Secretary received telephonic calls, telegrams or letters and after fixing the date and time of interview informed the person concerned. Often it happened that interviews were prolonged and Quaid-i-Azam was late for lunch. On such occasions, his sister felt much perturbed and often reminded her brother to bear lunch time in mind.

The Quaid-i-Azam's lunch was very simple. Chicken or meat soup with chapatis and a bit of salad was often all he had. He never indulged in rich food, such as roasted mutton, pulao or sweet dishes. Vegetables as salad, soup and chapatis were the main items in his daily meals. Of course he took simple tea with light biscuits twice a day at breakfast and in the afternoon.

He took rest for two hours after lunch and then sat in the office to work again. The afternoon time, between 3 and 5 p.m., was mainly spent in interviews or serious reading of books and newspapers. He did considerable extra reading. He had in his library books on Islamic history, life of the Holy Prophet and other great men of Islam, and translations of the Holy Quran. He had studied English translation of Al-Farooq (Life of Caliph Omar) which was written by Maulana Shibli Nomani and translated by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. He wanted to read the second part of this book dealing with administration and reforms of Caliph Omar but its English translation was not available. In his leisure hours,

the Quaid-i-Azam studied translation of the Holy Quran by Allama Yusuf Ali and *Spirit of Islam* and *History of the Saracens* by Syed Amir Ali. It was his desire to read in English all the religious and political literature of Islam, but he could not always find in English the books he wanted to read.

After 5 p.m., Quaid-i-Azam and his sister both had a stroll in the spacious compound of their bungalow and refreshed themselves in the open air. They had their supper in the evening, which again was very simple, comprising cooked rice, vegetables, chapatis and soup. Quaid-i-Azam generally preferred chapatis to rice and took rice sparingly.

I found the Quaid-i-Azam devoting eight hours every day to hard work. What kept up his spirits high was his confidence in himself and his conviction that he was fighting for a just cause. The thought was ever present in his mind that Muslims were watching closely his every movement, his every action, and that he was regarded as their uncrowned king. He was conscious enough not to do anything by word or deed, which might lower his reputation in the eyes of his great contemporaries like Mr. Gandhi and others. He wanted to set a model in his life for others by leading a life of moderation and avoiding extremes on the side of ostentation or simplicity. He was very particular about his dress, which was always neat and tidy. But at the same time he never wasted money on buying unnecessary things. He maintained his accounts properly and took care of every rupee that he spent.

ADVOCACY OF MUSLIM CASE

THE time was about 5 p.m., January 18, 1943, and as usual the Quaid-i-Azam and his sister, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah, were strolling in the open and spacious lawns of their commodious Malabar Hill Bombay bungalow. Three bearded young men who came from Dehra Dun wanted to see the Quaid-i-Azam. I was then in the office. I told them that they could not see him without a prior appointment and that he was already out for a walk. Upon this, one of the young men said, "Mr. Jinnah is at present the uncrowned king of Muslim India. His doors should always remain open for visitors who come from distant places to see him." I asked them why they wanted to meet the Quaid-i-Azam. One of them replied: "Mr. Jinnah is called Quaid-i-Azam and is the foremost leader of Muslim India. We want to know if he follows Islam like a true Muslim and observes the tenets of Islam."

I objected to their blunt manner and had a heated discussion with them on this matter. My point was that nobody had any right to probe into the private life of a person. Mr. Jinnah's life was open and above board and beyond any suspicion. I told them that I had been in close contact with Mr. Jinnah for more than two months, had watched him day and night working hard, and had seen no flaw or blemish in his private or public life. I had seen him daily reading English translation of the Holy Quran by Allama Yusuf Ali and had seen on his desk bookshelf many rare and invaluable books on Islam by well-known Western and Muslim scholars which he studied in his leisure hours. Though very particular about his dress, he took simple food comprising chapatis and soup. He did office work at a stretch for six hours a day. All daily newspapers and the bundle of letters received by him daily were carefully perused

by him. He dictated replies to his letters daily and granted interviews to all who came to see him during office hours. He had a very busy schedule and could hardly spare enough time for his rest.

Just as I was absorbed in talking to these three young men, Mr. Jinnah and his sister entered the main gate of their bungalow. When he saw us, Mr. Jinnah came to me and said, "Mr. Toosy, what is all this row for? Why are you shouting at the top of your voice?" We all stood up and I replied in a hurry: "Sir, these people want to know if you observe the tenets of Islam as you are the Quaid-i-Azam of Muslims."

Mr. Jinnah remained perfectly calm. He led us to his office, offered us seats and then addressed the three young men thus: "You want to know if I observe the tenets of Islam? Most emphatically I do, and it is my sincere desire that I should follow Islam in letter and spirit which I consider to be a perfect religion applying to every aspect of our life. But I am not a Maulana. I am simply an advocate who is pleading the Muslim case for Pakistan with the British Government. Like an honest lawyer, I am arguing the case in the most forceful manner I can. I am not fleecing my clients by charging them excessive fees, nor do I grudge time in preparing my case. I cannot be overawed by the British Government as I have a strong conviction about the justice of the cause which I plead. If there is any other Muslim or Maulana who is prepared to take up the Muslim case and plead it more forcefully, let him come forward. I will withdraw, make room for him and extend him my full support. But so long as the Muslims continue to repose confidence in me, I will continue to guide the destinies of my nation. As regards my private or public life, it is open for all. I conceal nothing from my people. Of course, I avoid unnecessary publicity and do not seek opportunities for it. You call me Quaid-i-Azam out of respect, but I do not insist on being called so. It is a matter that concerns my people. They may address me in any way they like."

SETH TAYYEBJI'S DAUGHTER AND A. K. FAZLUL HAQ

I was present in the Quaid-i-Azam's office on January 19, 1943, when a young lady, daughter of Seth Tayyebji, drove in her car and came straight to the office. She told Mr. Matlubul Hasan, Private Secretary, that she would have a long interview with Quaid-i-Azam, for which time had already been fixed by previous arrangement. She had in her hands a book entitled Gandhian Series, which I requested her to leave for our perusal. She agreed and was led into Quaid-i-Azam's drawing room, but only a few moments later she returned and was so upset that she forgot to take back her book and drove away in a great hurry. Mr. Matlubul Hasan and I were rather surprised why this lady who was a devoted and renowned disciple of Gandhi and lived in his Ashram had been sent away so soon.

Just then the Quaid came to the office and asked the Private Secretary to trace out Khwaja Nazimuddin's file from the records. I ventured to ask the Quaid-i-Azam how he had been able to dispose of Seth Tayyebji's daughter so soon, for she had told us that she would have a long interview. The Quaid said, "Mr. Toosy, she is a Congress spy. She came to probe my feelings in regard to Gandhi's Quit India Campaign and wanted me to issue a press statement in support of Mr. Gandhi's release. I told her plainly that there had been no change of heart on the part of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi had started a civil disobedience movement without taking the Muslim League into confidence and without coming to terms with it on the communal issue. In view of such an adamant and intransigent attitude of the Congress towards the Muslim League, I told her it was needless to discuss politics with a lady who is a mere

camp follower and has no say in Congress affairs. She had nothing to say in reply and there ended the interview."

Then the Quaid-i-Azam asked me if I had read the statement he was releasing to the press against Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq. On my reply in the negative, he wanted me to read it. The press statement was lying on the table in the Private Secretary's room. I read the statement and then called on the Quaid-i-Azam in his office. After some hesitation, I said: "Sir, this statement is couched in very strong language and will deal a death blow to the political career of this Bengali Muslim leader. I have heard much in praise of A.K. Fazlul Haq from my relatives and other Muslim traders from the Punjab who carry on a flourishing business in Calcutta and other cities of Bengal. They say A.K. Fazlul Haq is called the Tiger of Bengal. He has done much to uplift the down-trodden people of Bengal. He is generous at heart and has helped with stipends, out of his own pocket, many poor Muslim students to pursue their studies."

The Quaid-i-Azam listened to me calmly and then without getting provoked or offended he spoke to me thus in a serious tone: "Mr. Toosy, you do not know the whole history behind this statement. This man was once the President of Provincial Muslim League, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, leader of the Coalition Party which included his Krishak Proja Party as well as Muslim League, member of the Council of All-India Muslim League and Member of All-India League Working Committee. He also headed the Muslim League Coalition Ministry. As if these honours were not sufficient to gratify his lust for power, without reference to the President of Muslim League and without consulting the Working Committee, he accepted nomination on the Viceroy's National Defence Council. He knew that Muslim League had already rejected by a unanimous vote the scheme of the expansion of Viceroy's Council. The Viceroy had nominated arbitrarily two Muslim League members. Sir Sikander Hayat resigned the Council membership when the League called for his explanation. But A.K. Fazlul Haq stuck to it. At last, after much hesitation, he resigned but made indignified and false allegations against the League Working

Committee, the League Council and President of Muslim League. Finally, he tendered an apology and the Working Committee accepted it and considered the whole chapter closed."

Continuing, the Quaid said: "In revenge, A.K. Fazlul Haq encouraged the formation of the so-called Progressive Party with himself as its head and started a newspaper *Nava Log* which began to abuse League and all that it stood for. On the resignation of the previous Ministry in Bengal, he collected signatures of 119 members and requested the Governor to commission him to form a new ministry. Khwaja Nazimuddin was then leader of Muslim League Party which was the largest single party in the Assembly. The Government should have called him to form a new Ministry. But with the support of Hindu and European members, A.K. Fazlul Haq succeeded in forming his Ministry and League was driven into opposition. The entire Muslim Bengal was against him but he suppressed all agitation against him by using the Defence of India Act and other penal laws. In response to the call of Bengal Muslims, I had to preside over the special Session of Bengal Provincial Muslim League at Seraj Ganj in February 1942 and expose the pernicious tactics of A.K. Fazlul Haq. I consider him a traitor who has betrayed the cause of his nation. The Government headed by him imposed upon Muslims a reign of terror. You will see that he will suffer for betrayal of his nation and will be finished once for all."

Subsequent political developments in Bengal clearly revealed that Quaid-i-Azam's prediction had come true . A.K. Fazlul Haq's Ministry was voted out of power and Muslim League Ministry was formed. In the Muslim League Session held in Delhi in April, 1943, Quaid-i-Azam in his presidential address reaffirmed his opinion about A.K. Fazlul Haq in these words: "I say with all due deliberation and with all responsibility that he was not only a hindrance but a curse to the politics of Bengal. He was a curse to the Mussalmans because he betrayed us and he was a curse to the Hindus because he served them as a puppet and their creation."

RAJAGOPALACHARIA'S INTERVIEW WITH QUAID-I-AZAM

ON January 20, 1943, Rajagopalacharia had an interview with Quaid-i-Azam at his residence in Bombay by previous appointment. C.R. discussed with Quaid-i-Azam his new formula for the solution of Hindu-Muslim problems which he had placed before the All-India Congress Working Committee at its Allahabad meeting in 1942 and which had been rejected. In consequence, C.R. was forced to resign membership of the All-India Congress Working Committee, but he did not lose heart and intensified his efforts to pursue his course. The formula he proposed recognised the principle of Pakistan on condition that non-Muslim majority areas should be separated from the Punjab and Bengal on the same principle on which Muslims claimed separation for Muslim majority areas.

The Quaid-i-Azam was fully conscious of the trap laid for him by C.R. with the secret approval of Mr. Gandhi. The object was if Quaid-i-Azam agreed and gave his consent to C.R.'s formula, the Congress would carry on a campaign to persuade Muslims that partition of the Punjab and Bengal would leave them a crippled and weak Pakistan which ultimately would not be able to stand on its legs. The Quaid-i-Azam saw through this subtle game and could not agree to C.R.'s formula as he knew that this formula was not only opposed by the Congress officially as well as the Hindu Mahasabha but imposed conditions which were not acceptable to Muslims.

As a price for acceptance of the principle of Pakistan, C.R. demanded that Quaid-i-Azam should agree to the establishment of a Federal Government at the Centre with powers to raise finances for the control of three subjects to be entrusted to it, *i.e.*, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Quaid-i-Azam asked C.R.

as to the sanction behind the formula. In his individual capacity, Quaid-i-Azam pointed out, he was nobody to impose his opinion on others, and insisted that the Congress as the representative body of Hindus should first declare that it accepted the principle of Pakistan before initiating negotiations with him through C.R. In fact, the clear-sighted politician that the Quaid was, he refused to go into the details of the formula and confined his discussion to the fundamental point as to the sanction behind the formula and the representative character of the person who proposed it. Thus Quaid-i-Azam refused to fall into the trap and C.R. had to go away disappointed.

During the course of this interview, a telegram was received addressed to Quaid-i-Azam by name. It stated, "Beware Sevaji coming to stab Afzal Khan." The postman was led in to deliver the telegram personally to Quaid-i-Azam as it was of an urgent nature. When the Quaid read this telegram, he burst into laughter and showed it to C.R., saying: "Look, what the Muslims think of our meeting together." C.R. blushed for a moment and then said: "The root cause of the whole trouble is mistrust between Hindus and Muslims." Quaid-i-Azam replied: "It is for Mr. Gandhi to remove this mistrust by agreeing to work hand in hand with me and rising above his Hinduism." I overheard their talk as I had accompanied the postman to deliver the telegram.

GANDHI'S CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

WHEN I met the Quaid-i-Azam the next day, January 21, 1943, I sought his permission to ask a question which had often arisen in my mind and on which some people held views which sounded jarring to the ears of his well-wishers and admirers. I began thus: "During your campaign for organizing the Muslim League from 1936 onward, you have strictly followed constitutional methods and never provoked crisis with the British Government or the Congress which may lead you to transgress the limits of law and resort to violent and coercive methods. It is alleged in some quarters that Mr. Jinnah follows the middle course in politics and will never through word or deed create a situation wherein there is an open clash with the Government followed by arrests on a mass scale." I further said: "Mr. Gandhi has started 'Quit India' campaign and has been arrested along with many other Congress leaders. Some people have the impression that even if Mr. Gandhi had come to terms with Mr. Jinnah on the Hindu-Muslim question, Mr. Jinnah would still not have started civil disobedience against the Government in league with Congress and court arrest."

Mr. Jinnah listened to me patiently and said in reply: "I understand what you are driving at. You want me, like Mr. Gandhi, to adopt an extreme position by starting active political agitation against the British Government and win cheap popularity for myself and Muslim League through arrests on a mass scale. My approach to the political future of Indian Muslims is quite different from the Congress approach, which has a standing of over 45 years as compared with the Muslim League which originated in 1906 and made its active political existence felt in the struggle for the achievement of its goal with the passing of Lahore Resolution in 1940. I enlisted myself as Member of the Muslim League in 1913

at the instance of my friends, Sir Wazir Hasan and Maulana Mohammad Ali. Thereafter, I availed myself of my position both as a Congress member and as a League member to arrive at an understanding on Muslim representation in provincial legislatures and as a result of my efforts the Lucknow Pact of 1916 was agreed upon both by Congress and League. Subsequently, at my initiative, the League revised its creed and brought it in line with that of the Congress by declaring self-government under the British Crown as its final goal. From thence onward, I concentrated all my efforts on the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity, but Gandhi's intervention after 1918, with his emphasis on revival of Hindu culture and way of life, retarded my efforts. The Khilafat Movement was then in full swing. The League was pushed into the background and Ali Brothers came to the forefront to guide the Muslims on the historical issue of Caliphate that confronted the Muslim world then. The Khilafat issue was exploited by Mr. Gandhi to the advantage of Hindus and Ali Brothers felt disillusioned subsequently. After 1923, there was open split between Congress and League, but while Congress was organizing Hindus for the establishment of Hindu Raj, Muslim League was torn by party factions and it was not till 1936 that I took up the mission of reorganising Muslim League on a sound footing and converting it into a mass organisation of Muslims. The British Government had set its mind on granting further reforms through the Federal Act of 1935 and the League had yet to assert its position that it was the sole, authoritative political organization of Muslim India. It had to face opposition both from within and without. I was, however, confident that Muslim intelligentsia and the general body of Muslims were solidly behind the Muslim League, and, in due course, Muslim India would be united like one man as it realized that the League stood for complete independence of Muslims both from the foreign yoke and the Hindu domination.

"The methods that I am pursuing to consolidate Muslim position in India do not need at this stage to provoke a crisis which may cause unnecessary bloodshed and loss of life and property.

As regards my courting arrest and going to jail, it will not do any harm to my person. Rather I shall have complete rest and leisure from the daily worries and cares of life which fall to the lot of a political leader who has to face heavy odds. The Government will accommodate me in a palatial building, as it has done in the case of Mr. Gandhi, will provide me all possible facilities including the services of a medical board to maintain me in proper health. At the same time I shall have enough leisure to write my reminiscences of past events as Congress leaders generally do when in jail. They write books to earn cheap popularity and to make money after release from jail. But what I fear is that my nation is not yet thoroughly organized to risk a battle. If I am sent to jail, in my absence the Government and the Congress will create rift and disruption in our ranks, by playing one element against the other and the whole League movement will come to a standstill. At present, I am conducting Muslim League and its affairs in a constitutional manner and proceeding very cautiously as I know that I shall be held responsible for any untoward event that may occur in any part of Muslim India. But inside the jail, I shall have no power to exercise my influence on Muslims to prevent them from resorting to violence or playing as tools in the hands of Congress or any other political party. If I knew that Muslims had reached a stage in their organisation when a trial of strength with the Government could enhance their power and prestige, then I would not follow the Congress way of courting arrests and claiming the status of national heroes for its leaders. I would have a straight fight once for all and face the bullet on my breast. There is no midway for a Muslim when the occasion demands supreme sacrifice on his part. I am preparing my nation for the final battle."

After I had taken down my notes of this interview, I came across a speech of Mr. Jinnah which he had delivered in 1940 on the occasion of unveiling of the photo of Maulana Shaukat Ali at the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. This speech expressed more or less the same ideas in regard to Muslim League's future confrontation with the Government as were explained by him to me.

A DAY WITH THE QUAID

ON 22nd January, 1943, the Quaid-i-Azam told me that his Private Secretary, Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, was on leave for about a week and the office work was suffering. He told me he was to address Ismail College students the next day and wanted to prepare a note beforehand so that the speech he was to deliver should be correctly reported to the press. As I knew no shorthand, the Quaid-i-Azam began to write the outlines of his speech. It took him about half an hour to write six pages in his own notebook. He then tore off the pages and made them over to me with instructions that I should enlarge and expand the subject matter by including in it quotations from Mr. Gandhi's paper *Harijan*.

He then explained to me in brief that Mr. Gandhi had started civil disobedience without taking the League into confidence. His arrest had been inevitable. The Hindu liberal leaders, particularly Sapru and Jayakar, wanted the release of Mr. Gandhi as in their opinion Gandhi was not to blame for the acts of violence that followed his arrest. They said that had he not been arrested, the civil disobedience movement would have remained peaceful and non-violent. The Hindu leaders expected that he should press the Government for Gandhi's immediate release. The Quaid-i-Azam further told me that Mr. Gandhi had given definite assurances through his newspaper, *Harijan*, that independence was out of question so long as Hindu-Muslim differences were not settled, but now he had resorted to civil disobedience to force the British Government to come to terms with the Congress, in clear breach of the assurances given to Muslims. In his opinion, Gandhi's civil disobedience was not meant to wrest independence but to gain

political concessions for the Congress at the cost of League's demands.

The Quaid-i-Azam wanted me to search the old files of *Harijan* in his private library and to select those portions of Gandhi's writings in which he had committed himself to the idea 'unity first and independence afterwards'. I was required to enlarge his notes so as to cover ten pages at least and to underline in red the quotations from *Harijan*. I spent a good deal of time in writing afresh the speech to be delivered by Quaid-i-Azam (Appendix) bearing in mind the outline which was to form the basis of his speech. I selected quotations from *Harijan* and inserted them in proper places in my enlarged essay.

The following morning, I went to see the Quaid-i-Azam at 6 a.m. He was already waiting for me as he had to attend some functions previously arranged for that day. I met him in his private room and made over to him the essay written in my own hand and covering eight pages. The Quaid-i-Azam turned over some pages casually and then wanted me to read it. As I had made a thorough preparation and had read my essay twice or thrice, I had no difficulty in my recitation. The Quaid-i-Azam listened attentively and expressed his appreciation of the insertion of quotations from *Harijan*. Just then his sister came into the room and told him that as he had to remain busy till afternoon on account of the various functions he had to attend, he should have a full breakfast.

On many previous occasions. too, I had observed that Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah paid due regard to her brother's health and gave him full attention as an affectionate sister. Once I noted that an American press representative was engaged in serious discussion with the Quaid-i-Azam on the political situation. As it was getting late for lunch, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah reminded her brother through a slip of paper that lunch was ready and he should not prolong the discussion. The Quaid-i-Azam followed his sister's advice and went in for lunch.

On January 24, 1943, the Quaid-i-Azam had a number of functions to attend. When he and his sister came out at 7.00 a.m.,

their car was at the porch. They took their seats at the back while I occupied the front seat with the chauffeur. First we drove to a Primary Muslim League Office where a reception was arranged by the League workers and some prominent persons. The Quaid-i-Azam addressed the meeting and appealed to the people to enrol themselves as members of the Muslim League.

The next function was in an orphanage. There Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah and other members of the management received the Quaid and garlanded him. In his speech, the Quaid-i-Azam laid stress on the importance and need of having a network of orphanages and work houses all over the country to look after the orphans and disabled persons. He praised the management for doing useful work and donated Rs. 500 to its charitable fund. Mr. Ibrahim Rehmatullah gave a donation of Rs. 1,000.

Then we drove to Madanpura, a suburb of Bombay, mostly inhabited by poor people, Muslims and others. There a public meeting had been arranged in an open space near the Jamia Mosque. Thousands of Muslims had gathered to see their beloved leader and listen to his speech. Special arrangements had been made for seating women who also attended the meeting in large numbers. As the Quaid-i-Azam and his sister got down from the car, they were given a rousing welcome and presented with sealed envelopes full of currency notes. I collected the envelopes and found that they contained a sum of two thousand rupees, which was offered as a token of love and respect for the Quaid-i-Azam by the residents of the locality. The Quaid-i-Azam spoke in Urdu and announced a donation of Rs. 500. The entire sum of Rs. 2,500 was returned to the organisers of the meeting to be utilised for some useful purpose.

In his speech, the Quaid-i-Azam, who was fully acquainted with the local problems of the people, emphasised the importance of two public utilities badly needed by the people. He suggested that the money collected should be spent for opening a girls' primary school and a health centre for sick mothers and new-born babies. He promised that he would personally give more help in this

connection and would maintain contact with them to see that these institutions were established without delay.

Our next destination was Ismail College. The chauffeur, who was quite new to Bombay, as he had been newly recruited in Delhi, followed a wrong road which took us 12 miles off route. Some time was wasted in coming to the right road and the Quaid-i-Azam was anxious that he should reach the College in time.

It was exactly 11 o'clock when we reached the College. The staff was waiting for the reception and the Quaid-i-Azam was taken to the spacious upper-storey hall, which could accommodate over 1,000 persons. The Muslim gentry of Bombay, including public leaders and lawyers, had been specially invited to this function. The Principal paid rich tributes to the Quaid-i-Azam in a well-prepared address of welcome.

The Quaid-i-Azam then rose to deliver his speech. He kept the audience spell-bound for full one hour. During the course of his speech, I noted, that he consulted my written essay only once or twice to read the quotations from *Harijan*, otherwise the entire speech was delivered extempore. It did not follow the line of argument suggested in my written essay. But it was a remarkable speech, most convincing and persuasive in its effect. The Quaid-i-Azam had such a retentive memory that he did not omit any important point or argument that was necessary to make his speech most effective. The Hindu press also reported the speech. Some extracts from this speech were reported by daily *Dawn* under a five-column heading.

The main points of the speech as carried by the newspaper were:

. . "Do the Congress or Mr. Gandhi or other Hindu leaders think that they can achieve the independence of India without an agreement with the Muslim League? The policy adopted and as stated by Mr. Gandhi is a suicidal policy. The Mussalmans may be numerically one-fourth, but you cannot always go by counting heads. The Muslims are a very powerful nation in this subcontinent. It is difficult for me to understand and follow the policy of the Congress or that of the Hindu Mahasabha. But there

are newspapers that keep on writing and making suggestions that some sort of compromise should be effected. Several other suggestions and proposals have emanated from various other quarters also. They clearly show that they do not believe in the 'Quit India' policy. What they want is compromise. Compromise not with the Muslims, but with the British Government. They want the British to remain in this country, though that is not their official policy. They are not for immediate independence or for 'Quit India' but for the establishment of some sort of Government which would enable the Hindus to dominate and strangle the Muslims gradually under the aegis of the British Crown."

. . Mr. Jinnah characterised such dreams as mere moonshine and asked whether the British Government was going to put Gandhi and Nehru on the 'Gaddi' of the subcontinent to dominate the Muslims and others with the help of the British bayonets. If the Congress and the Hindu leaders sincerely wished freedom and independence of both the nations—Hindus and Muslims—then there was no other way except to agree to the Pakistan Scheme. The Hindus and Muslims could then live as friends and good neighbours. If the Congress continued to talk of united India, the prospect was continuation of slavery for all.

. . . Concluding his speech, Mr. Jinnah said: "If you analyse the whole situation, you will find that the key to resolving the present deadlock is in the hands of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, by creating a real and genuine desire for a change."

After the Quaid-i-Azam had finished his oration, he was entertained to tea by the College staff. Two members of the staff sought permission of the Quaid-i-Azam to ask him some questions on Pakistan. The Quaid referred them to me to answer their questions. Their first question was: "Will Pakistan be economically self-reliant and be able to maintain itself financially?" I said in reply: "Which country in the world is economically self-reliant? Take the example of an advanced and industrialised country like Great Britain. Does it not depend on the rest of the world for food and raw materials to feed its people and run its factories?"

Our Pakistan, I continued, would produce sufficient raw materials like cotton and jute to exchange for textiles and machinery from other countries. It would be self-sufficient in food as it produces enough wheat and rice to meet its requirements.

At this stage, the Quaid-i-Azam intervened and said: "Mr. Gandhi has left no alternative for the Muslim League except to demand Pakistan. Ever since I took over as President of Muslim League, I have been earnestly trying to bring about Hindu-Muslim settlement, but the Congress is playing into the hands of Hindu Mahasabha and even refuses to recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative organisation of Muslims. All efforts have ended in smoke because of the Congress insistence that Muslims are not a separate nation and that the Muslim League has no right to speak on behalf of the Muslims because the Congress represents India as a whole."

The Quaid continued that unless the Congress conceded the Muslim League an equal status as a political body, negotiations for settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question could not be conducted.

Concluding, the Quaid-i-Azam said that a community which was not prepared to concede to the Muslims what they deserved on their population strength in Bengal and the Punjab could not be expected to be generous, or even just, towards the Muslims.

As we left the Ismail College after tea, the Quaid-i-Azam forgot to pick up his spectacles. We had not gone very far when the Quaid found his spectacles missing. We hastened back to the College and recovered the spectacles.

On our journey back to his residence, the Quaid-i-Azam said to me: "Mr. Toosy, did I omit any point in my speech?". "No, sir, it was a masterly oration. I am surprised that you made an extempore speech on such a complete and important subject without consulting the notes prepared by me." The Quaid-i-Azam replied: "Mr. Toosy, I am gifted with a retentive memory. I heard you attentively when you read your essay before me, but I had my own ideas on the subject and I needed only quotations from *Harijan* which you had collected and inserted in their proper places. I appreciated the

ideas expressed in your essay, which were mainly based on the outline suggested by me, but I was not very keen to follow the line of argument. I have my own way of putting things together. When I read some document or book, I pick up the essential things and retain them in my memory. God has endowed me with a clear mind which sees things in their proper perspective and is never led away from the right path."

I now realise that the Quaid-i-Azam did not so much want to know my ideas on the subject of his speech as he wanted to know if I had a fluent pen and could write on a subject at short notice. I felt he was quite satisfied with me, because after I had completed the work entrusted to me he wanted to retain me as Assistant Editor of *Dawn* and did not like my going back to my post as Headmaster. I, however, expressed my inability to accept this job due to certain circumstances which necessitated my presence in Wazirabad.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' OFFER

AFTER my selected writings had been published in the form of two books and I had collected material for the preparation of my new book, *History of Muslim League and Pakistan Freedom Movement,* the Quaid-i-Azam suggested on January 28, 1943, that I should also prepare a book covering all the events from the year 1906, when the All-India Muslim League was first established, up to the Federal Act of 1935.

For convenience, he divided this period into five parts: (1) from 1906 to 1913; (2) from 1913 to 1916; (3) from 1916 to 1924; (4) from 1924 to 1929; and (5) from 1929 to 1935. He explained to me why he had made this division. The concluding year of each part was connected with an important event. In 1913, the League underwent an important change when he was enlisted as its member. In 1916, the joint efforts of League and Congress resulted in the Lucknow Pact. In 1924, a split arose between Congress and League and henceforward each pursued its own independent course. In 1929, the Nehru Report was finally rejected by Muslims and the Viceroy announced the holding of a Round Table Conference in London. In 1935, the Government of India Act was passed by the British Parliament.

The period from 1936 to 1942, he said, should be discussed in detail and the circumstances which gradually led the Muslim League to the demand for Pakistan should be described in their natural sequence. The underlying idea in giving a historical survey of the past events, according to him, was to prove that all efforts towards unity which were made by him and the Muslim League came to naught on account of the hostile attitude of the Congress and that, in consequence, the only alternative left to the Muslim

League was to demand the partition of India to safeguard Muslim interests on a permanent basis from the ever-increasing danger of aggression from the Hindu side.

The book in a way was to be a justification for Pakistan. It was also to go into details, to some extent, of the implications of Pakistan concerning territorial limits and readjustments, form of government, safeguards for minorities, economic and defence problems, etc.

The same day, the Quaid-i-Azam gave me a gist of the talk he had had with Sir Stafford Cripps. The latter, in his private talk, had told the Quaid-i-Azam that Pakistan had been conceded in principle in the terms of his draft proposals and that the procedure suggested by him to ascertain the will of the people through the legislature and a plebiscite would finally result in favour of the Muslims. Sir Stafford Cripps thought that the method suggested by him would not provoke the Sikhs and other minorities to oppose the whole scheme.

Mr. Jinnah on his part had asserted that he was not prepared to commit the fate of 90 million Muslims to the hazards of a plebiscite. The Muslims were no doubt in a majority in Bengal and the Punjab and were sure to win in a plebiscite if they had an opportunity to exercise their will. But there were certain difficulties in their way. They were generally poor and backward in education and any number of them could be easily influenced or bought over. The members of the provincial legislatures, with some exceptions, were quite untrustworthy and could not be expected to stand above personal interest. The Congress and Hindu Mahasabha with all their wealth and organisation would raise heaven and earth to win over the waverers from the Muslim fold and would carry on a most virulent propaganda to cloud the whole issue.

The Quaid-i-Azam had told Cripps plainly that it were the Muslims who had demanded partition and it should entirely be their concern to decide whether they wanted to stay within India or go out of it. The draft proposals left the fate of 90 million Muslims in the hands of non-Muslim minorities in Muslim majority

provinces who would on no account accept any government with a preponderance of Muslim voice.

The Quaid-i-Azam then said to me: "If the British Government is really sincere and has conceded Pakistan in principle, why does it insist on plebiscite on a territorial basis? Why does it not consider it a decisive verdict for separation if the entire Muslim community, or an overwhelming majority of it, votes for separation?" He told me that Cripps had no satisfactory reply to these questions. Hence the matter had ended there.

The Quaid-i-Azam told me: "No reliance can ever be placed on the pledges and assurances of the British Government. They have so often changed their attitude in the past that nothing can be said with certainty about the future. But one thing is certain. The Cripps' offer clearly implies a tremendous change in the outlook of the British Parliament. India is no longer thought of in terms of a dependency which is to remain for ever as a permanent field of British exploitation."

In reply to my question if the European powers would shed imperialism after the second world war, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "England and France call themselves democracies but really they are imperialists to the core, with this difference that one is an imperialist republic and the other an imperialist monarchy. Both the countries have exploited the world and will continue doing so as long as they have the power to do so."

THE TURKISH PRESS DELEGATION

ON January 30, 1943, I brought to the notice of the Quaid-i-Azam a cutting from the *Tribune* of 29th January, 1943, in which it was reported that a Turkish press delegation was entertained at a tea party by the Punjab Premier Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana. The delegation was reported to have said in reply to questions by Hindu press men at the tea party that they were Turks first and Muslims afterwards. As regards religion, the delegation had said that religion was an honourable institution but it was individual and personal and had no place in politics in Turkey.

The Hindu press had given much publicity to the views of the Turkish press delegation, particularly their assertion that they were Turks first and Muslims afterwards. The Quaid-i-Azam felt much offended by these misleading views expressed in utter ignorance of the political conditions in India.

I showed the Quaid-i-Azam an article that I had contributed to the *Eastern Times* and was published in its issue of 10th February, 1942, under the heading: "Misreading of History of Turkey". In this article, I had proved that Turkey's case ran parallel to the case of Indian Muslims. The Turks had founded an empire over which they had ruled for hundreds of years. But on the dismemberment of their empire after the First World War, they were allowed to retain only those parts where the Turks were in a majority. All other areas where Christians or Arabs were in a majority were separated to form independent states on the principle of self-determination. Exactly the same was the condition of Indian Muslims. They had ruled over the subcontinent of India for hundreds of years, but now on the termination of the British rule they wanted to form their independent states in those parts of India where they were in a

majority. So on the analogy of Turkey, the Indian Muslims, like the Turks who were restored their homelands in Anatolia and Thrace, deserve to be restored their homelands in the north-western and eastern zones of India.

I read out parts of this article to the Quaid-i-Azam who knew that the Turkish press delegation was misinformed about the true condition in the subcontinent. As the Turks formed an overwhelming majority of 98 percent in their country and had no minority problem and as their nationality and religion were the same, the expression 'Turks first or Muslims first' in their case created no misunderstanding. But in the case of India, inhabited by two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, who were poles apart in every aspect of life, it made all the difference to say whether we were Muslims first or Indians first. India as a matter of fact was not the home of one nation as Turkey was, but it was an empire inhabited by different races and communities as the Turkish empire was before the First World War.

The Quaid-i-Azam read my article and then asked me to dig out from the newspapers a speech by Mustafa Kamal Pasha in which he had said on the Palestine issue: "Turks are Muslims first and will shed the last drop of their blood to preserve the sanctity of the holy places of Islam." This speech was traced out and the Quaid-i-Azam lost no time to convince the Turkish Consul in Bombay that the delegation in their ignorance of Indian conditions had made a statement that had created a wrong impression among Indian Muslims, whose case ran parallel to the Turkish case before the First World War.

The Quaid-i-Azam explained to the Turkish Consul that India was an empire as Turkey was an empire before the World War and that just as Turkish empire was partitioned to leave for Turks only those areas where they were in a majority, in the same way Indian Muslims demanded that those compact parts of India where they were in a majority should form an independent Muslim state of Pakistan. He also explained to the Consul that the so-called Muslim minority in India was more in numbers than the population of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Egypt taken together. As regards

religion, the Quaid-i-Azam pointed out to the Turkish Consul that religion was not considered in India a private affair between man and God. The Hindu religion, a sum total of customs, rituals and ceremonies, applied to every phase of the life of a Hindu and its greatest living leader, Mr. Gandhi, had openly declared that he was a Hindu first and his politics came after his religion. Cow worship was an article of faith with him and he was not prepared to change this or any other practice of his faith for the appeasement of Muslims.

I learnt later from the Quaid-i-Azam that he had spoken to the Turkish Consul in this strain and that the latter had promised to report to the Turkish Government the true position. Subsequently I was told by the Quaid-i-Azam that on return home to Turkey, the delegation had expressed regrets over the off-hand remarks they had made in India. The Turkish ambassador in India had also met the Quaid-i-Azam and had apologised to him for the ill-advised and ill-conceived remarks of the Turkish press delegation.

THE QUAID'S BODYGUARD AND CHAUFFEUR

ONE day I learnt that the Quaid-i-Azam had dispensed with the services of his chauffeur. This man approached me and the Quaid's Private Secretary, Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, to intercede for him for reinstatement. I called on the Quaid-i-Azam on his behalf and was told that Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah had received frequent complaints that the chauffeur was a nuisance to his neighbours. He returned late at night to his quarters and brought with him some young men who indulged in singing and loose talk. The Quaid's Hindu servant who lived with his wife and children in the adjacent quarters complained to Miss Jinnah that the privacy of his family life was being disturbed. The chauffeur paid no heed to her warnings, and thus it was that the Quaid had to discharge him from service. But he paid him his salary for one more month. At my request, the Quaid was kind enough to issue him a good conduct certificate so that he might seek employment elsewhere.

On another occasion, the Quaid-i-Azam told me about his bodyguard, Gul Mohammad, a Pathan from Peshawar. On the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr, he was paid his usual pay in advance plus rupees ten as *bakhshish.* It was expected that he would send this money to his wife in Peshawar. But a few days later, the Quaid-i-Azam learnt from Miss Jinnah that instead of sending the money home he had purchased a pair of embroidered shoes and a costly turban with a *kulla.* In this way Gul Mohammad had spent almost half of his pay on unnecessary things.

The Quaid told me that the man had no need to buy such costly things as he was given used shows in time of need and was provided a cap or a turban whenever required. The Quaid-i-Azam then remarked: "This man has no sense of proportion and does

not care to live within his means." Then in praise of his Hindu servant he said: "He lives a neat and clean life. His house is properly kept, his children are properly washed and dressed and he has never asked me or my sister for loan or pay in advance. He lives a contented life and we are satisfied with him."

On another occasion, the Quaid-i-Azam told me about a young Muslim graduate whom he had recommended to a highly placed Muslim Railway Officer, who had employed him in a suitable job. A year later, the Quaid enquired from the Railway Officer, when he met him at a function, about the young graduate. He was told that the man recommended by him had become a dandy in dress soon after his appointment. He spent lavishly on his person, became irregular in the performance of his duties and there were complaints of insubordination and slackness in work against him. As he was still on probation, he was discharged from service. Next a Hindu young graduate was engaged by this Muslim Railway Officer. This young man proved very hard working, obedient and honest in the discharge of his duties. Besides attending office regularly, he did odd jobs for his boss. He coached his officer's son privately in his leisure hours and called on him on holidays to be of some service to him. Though his officer gave him proper compensation for the extra work, yet he had a very high regard for him and was quite satisfied with his work and behaviour.

On hearing this story, I remarked: "A Muslim in a subordinate position often becomes unruly and disobedient because he considers himself to have belonged to a ruling nation." The Quaid-i-Azam said: "No, this is not the case. The Muslims have lagged behind in the march of progress because of lack of education and proper training. They must acquire adaptability. They must learn to adjust themselves to the changed circumstances."

THE CONGRESS MASS CONTACT CAMPAIGN

IN the course of an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam on 1st March, 1943, I pointed out to him that it was said in certain quarters that Quaid-i-Azam was not a mass leader as he did not contact the masses but addressed select gatherings of Muslims. The Quaid-i-Azam said in reply: "This is an impression created by those who do not see eye to eye with our demand for Pakistan. I know there is a section of Muslims who back the Congress in its propaganda that the Muslim League is a body of Nawabs and opportunists who have no regard for the interests of the common man but merely want to grab power."

"This is a false charge against the Muslim League", the Quaid continued, "and it comes from those who are themselves acting as puppets and stooges of the Congress. Our demand for Pakistan is not made in the interest of any one class of Muslims; it aims at ameliorating the lot of every Muslim by establishing a government which will adopt and follow the principles of Islam and promote our religion and culture, which are now threatened by the upsurge of Hindu nationalism and a new Hindu philosophy of life preached by Mr. Gandhi."

He said: "If we lose our identity in Hindu India, we are bound to lose everything spiritually and materially. We may be reduced to the position of untouchables in a caste-ridden society which has shown scant regard for one-fourth of its own numbers who are treated worse than animals. My appeal to all Muslims who are now threatened by an aggressive Hindu nationalism is to unite in the common cause. So far, Muslim landlords, industrialists, merchants and professional classes have looked up to the British Government for patronage and favours, but I want to divert their

allegiance from the foreign government to their own nation, which will hold in future in its hands all positions of honour and prestige. The political situation in the country at present is such that the Government creates opportunities for upper class Muslims to be recognised as men of status and influence. In these circumstances, I can't take the risk of losing the sympathies of this class from the Muslim League.

"I have succeeded to a great extent in obtaining the active support for our cause from such influential persons as Raja of Mahmudabad and Nawab Ismail in U.P., Seth Abdullah Haroon and Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah in Sind, Nawab of Mamdot and Sir Sikandar Hayat in the Punjab, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Shaheed Suhrawardy in Bengal, and many others. These persons have a privileged position in view of their wealth and influence and are looked upon as leaders. Undoubtedly, they have joined the Muslim League from a sense of conviction that the League is fighting for a just cause and their own interests demand that they should espouse its struggle. I have also not lost sight of the common people who are the backbone of our nation. I address public meetings whenever occasion demands and have made it a point to make frequent appeals to students all over India. I maintain close contact with them at Aligarh, Lahore, Dacca, Karachi, Peshawar and other cities. I know they will assume a position of responsibility after the completion of their education and also play a role in public life."

I then asked about the League's policy in awakening the people. The Quaid-i-Azam said: "I cannot at present count on the active support of all the Muslims living as they are divided in their loyalties to different political bodies, such as Ahrars, Khaksars, Congress, Jamiatul Ulama, which have their strongholds mainly in cities and it will take sometime before the political bodies to which they owe allegiance will throw in their lot with the Muslim League. The Congress mass contact campaign is mainly aimed at strengthening such Muslim bodies as are opposed to the Muslim League, but it has proved a failure. Jamiatul Ulama and Congress Muslims are fast losing their popularity. Our cause is just and as

time passes the Muslims will realise that the Muslim League is fighting for the establishment of an independent Muslim State free from Hindu domination, and they will rally round it to the last man. I am confident that the next elections will show that the Muslim League commands the loyalty of the entire Muslim population in India."

As regards being a mass leader and contacting the masses, the Quaid said: "I am trying to organise my nation on the principles of *unity, faith* and *discipline.* I keep a watchful eye on every political development and on the Congress and the Government manoeuvres from day to day. The annual and seasonal meetings of the Muslim League and the public meetings held on the occasion of my visits to various places attract immense crowds and compare favourably with Congress meetings. The Muslims in the minority provinces are also behind the Muslim League, while the League is fast gaining ground in Muslim majority provinces. The intrigues and machinations of the Congress to incite Red Shirts, Unionists and Krishak Proja against the Muslim League have all now been exposed and have lost their sting. I am looking forward to the day when both the Congress and the British Government will have to recognise that the Muslim League alone represents Muslim India and that it is a power to reckon with."

THE QUAID-I-AZAM DEFINES PAKISTAN

DR. Abdul Hamid Kazi of Bombay had sent a notice to the Muslim League Working Committee that he wanted to move a resolution to define Pakistan which in his opinion meant the establishment of a Muslim State on the lines set by the first four Caliphs of Islam. Before his resolution could be moved, the Quaid-i-Azam received a telegram from Anjuman-i-Isna-Ashriya, Lucknow, to the effect that "if Pakistan meant the setting up of a government on the pattern of the first three Caliphs, the Shias will fight tooth and nail against such a conception". I was keenly interested to know how the Quaid-i-Azam would solve this riddle and define a Pakistan to the satisfaction of all Muslim schools of thought.

In the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee held in Delhi in March, 1943, the Quaid-i-Azam clarified the whole position thus: "Before I permit the mover to speak in support of his resolution, let me clarify the whole position. So far as I understand, and this will be the opinion of every sane-minded Muslim, Pakistan at this stage means the transfer of political power from the British Government to Muslim hands. This power will be exercised exclusively by Muslims in their majority areas in the north-west and north-east of India on the principle of self-determination. Once this political power is transferred to us, then it will be the appropriate time for us to consider all those problems which will concern us. We shall sit like brothers round a table and decide what form of government will suit us according to our special circumstances and conditions as a Muslim nation and in the light of the Holy Quran and the life of the Prophet. We want a Muslim homeland wherein the Muslims will be free to choose their own government and conduct their affairs according to their tradition and genius, deriving

inspiration from the fundamental principles of Islam, based on the brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man. If the Muslims, both Shias and Sunnis, can live together in peace in Iraq, Iran and other Muslim countries, there is no reason why the Indian Muslims will not see their way to form a stable and enduring government in their independent State of Pakistan.

"After the establishment of Pakistan, it will be a domestic issue, though of vital importance for us, to draw up a Constitution through a Constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage. At present we should not raise any issue of a controversial nature which will fritter away our energies in petty quarrels and wranglings on the form of government and the laws governing it. We should concentrate all our efforts on the achievement of Pakistan as our main objective and offer a united front to the British Government to force it to part with political power and hand it over to Muslims in accordance with the Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940."

The mover, thereupon, withdrew his resolution and voices were raised in support of the explanation given by the Quaid-i-Azam on the future Government of Pakistan. When the Quaid-i-Azam asked the members to show, by raising their hands, that they agreed with his viewpoint, there was absolute unanimity on the issue except for one person. The Quaid-i-Azam was heard saying, "All agree but Sir Raza Ali." The latter stood up from his seat and said: "No, sir, I bow before my master." Thus, by the Quaid's sagacity and foresightedness, a difficult and complex issue which might have caused dissensions within the Muslim League on a sectarian basis was settled and it was left to the future Constituent Assembly to decide the matter after the attainment of Pakistan.

While the Quaid-i-Azam was explaining the Muslim League's position in regard to its attitude towards the resolution under consideration, he referred to the correspondence he had had previously with the Working Committee of the All-India Shia Conference through its Secretary, Syed Ali Zaheer, in July and August, 1942.

The Quaid-i-Azam read his letter dated 31st August, 1942, in reply to Syed Ali Zaheer's letter dated 25th July, 1942. This letter is partly reproduced here as it cleared all misapprehensions that could arise in the minds of the Shias.

The relevant passage in Syed Ali Zaheer's letter dated 25th July, 1942, said: "Several attempts have been made to propose from the Muslim League platform that the government in Pakistan should be modelled on the lines of the government that prevailed in Arabia just after the Prophet's death. Although it is realised that it is not possible to put the clock back by so many years, yet it is feared that this may be an attempt to curtail the freedom of religious rights and observances which has been enjoyed by the Shias heretofore."

The letter written by the Quaid-i-Azam on 31st August, 1942, stated: "I am confident that the majority of Shias are with the Muslim League and such of them as are still outside the League under some sort of misapprehension are in my opinion unwise in not joining the Muslim League without any reservation in the interests of the Shias as well as the Muslim India generally. The Muslim League stands for justice and fair play and will always fight for these fundamental principles and there is no need for the Shias to think that they will not be justly treated by the All-India Muslim League. I think it is a great disservice to the Muslim cause to create any kind of division between the Musalmans of India and I do not see any real cause or occasion for it. Our organization is now in a position to mete out justice to every individual and recognise the merits wherever we have any voice or power to do so, and as time goes on it will move more and more in that direction. The Muslim League cannot recognise any other political organization. Besides, most of the points that you have raised are matters for the Musalmans themselves to deal with internally and some of them are totally irrelevant and are raised under a misapprehension and not in accordance with facts."

In the same meeting, another controversial matter came up for consideration. It concerned the restoration of property attached to Pir Pagaro's *Gaddi*, which had been confiscated by the British

Government. There were two factions in the League, one clamouring for the reinstatement of a successor to the *Gaddi* and restoration of the confiscated property to him. This faction was represented by the followers and admirers of Pir Pagaro. The other faction, led by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, demanded that the income of the property when restored should be invested in establishing Hyderabad University in Sind. The Quaid-i-Azam, who had a clear perception of this issue, drew the attention of the members present to the main objective underlying the issue which was to pass unanimously a resolution to force the British Government to restore the forfeited property of Pir Pagaro to a Muslim Trust which would decide later on how to dispose of it.

The Quaid-i-Azam said it was open to the Trust to restore the entire confiscated property to the successor of Pir Pagaro or to invest its proceeds whole or in part on the establishment of Hyderabad University. He argued that the future disposal of the property was a domestic issue for them and should not be raised at this stage to minimise the importance of their main objective, *i.e.*, cancellation of the confiscation orders. A new resolution was then unanimously passed as desired and suggested by the Quaid-i-Azam.

The above two instances clearly prove that the Quaid-i-Azam never lost sight of fundementals in discussing a subject and did not waste time unnecessarily and implicate himself in going deep into details when their discussion, in his opinion, would not prove helpful to solve the main issue. If Pakistan had been discussed in detail as urged by the Congress before the latter had accepted it as the goal of Muslim India, unnecessary minor issues would have been raised by the Congress to create misgivings and doubts against Pakistan in the minds of Muslims, who would have been entrapped in the snare of Congress intrigues and machinations. The Quaid-i-Azam was far-sighted enough to see through the Congress game, and defeated its manoeuvres by insisting on the acceptance of the principle of Pakistan first before going into its details and implications.

ISLAM, A PERFECT CODE OF LAWS

ON March 20, 1943, I was in Delhi attending the Quaid-i-Azam's office at 10, Aurangzeb Road, when a learned Muslim scholar with an impressive personality, Moulvi Mohammad Munawaruddin, came to see the Quaid by special appointment. He had with him some sample copies of the codified laws of Islam which he was publishing in the form of a series of 50 books, each dealing with a special subject covering some aspect of Islamic jurisprudence. The author told me that he had spent many years of hard work in studying the Holy Quran, Ahadis and Islamic Fiqah before undertaking the arduous task of codifying the laws of Islam based on Quran and the traditions.

Some of the headings of his books were: Prayers in Islam, Fast, Zakat, Marriage, Divorce, Haj, Law of Inheritence, Contract, Evidence, etc. He told me if his books were accepted as Islamic jurisprudence, they would serve as a perfect code of laws and replace the present civil and criminal laws enforced in our courts. This gentleman had a long interview with the Quaid-i-Azam in which he explained that Islam prescribed guidelines for every aspect of our life and that he had codified the orders and injunctions of the Quran in the light of the life of the Holy Prophet and the first four Caliphs and according to the interpretation of Islamic jurists.

The Quaid-i-Azam gave him a very sympathetic hearing and said he believed that Islam is a perfect code of laws and provides guidance for Muslims in every sphere of life. He very much appreciated the useful work of codifying the injunctions and orders of the Holy Quran and the directions and instructions of the Holy

Prophet. The Quaid-i-Azam went so far as to say if he had been at the helm of affairs in a Muslim country he would have lost no time in appointing a committee of Muslim scholars to study his writings and enforce them as far as possible in civil and criminal courts. He even suggested the author to send copies of his books to Heads of independent Muslim states.

After Maulvi Munawaruddin's interview with the Quaid-i-Azam was over, I put searching questions to him about his feelings after the interview. He told me that he was perfectly satisfied and considered the Quaid-i-Azam to be a sincere and devoted Muslim who had dedicated his life to the cause of Muslims in the subcontinent. He then gave me a full account of what he had told the Quaid and how his books had been admired and appreciated by him. His conclusion was that when Pakistan would be established, the Quaid-i-Azam would enforce the laws of Shariat and the Constitution would be framed according to Islamic principles based on the Quran.

MY LAST INTERVIEW WITH THE QUAID

ON April 29, 1943, after an exchange of greetings, the Quaid-i-Azam asked me: "Mr. Toosy, how far has your work progressed?"

My reply and the conversation that followed went on as under:

T. I have completed my notes up to 1941, but there are some points which require elucidation. For example, there is nothing on record to show that the Gandhi-Muslim Pact was tentatively agreed upon on the eve of the meeting of the Minorities Committee which was presided over by Mr. Gandhi in the second Round Table Conference, nor again is there any evidence of the letter that Mr. Gandhi wrote to the British Premier for arbitiation on the question of Hindu-Muslim communal representation.

Q. You will find relevant papers in my file. The Gandhi-Muslim Pact was in the form of proposals which the Muslim delegation had offered to Mr. Gandhi and which had been supplemented by others and on behalf of the Congress by Mr. Gandhi. These proposals were agreed upon but were not to be disclosed in public unless they had been ratified by the League and the Congress. So far as Mr. Gandhi was concerned he had given his blessings and consent to them. As regards the letter to the British Prime Minister, it was written by Pandit Malviya at the instance of Mr. Gandhi.

T. I find you very busy as usual and I feel that you won't have any time to spare to formulate your suggestions and

consider the manuscript, especially as the annual session of the League is approaching. My present scheme is that I should go on with the remaining work till it is completed. Then I would rejoin my post in the month of admissions, as my presence will be necessary at Wazirabad. I have been running the school in keen competition with two other local schools and I fear my school might suffer if I severed my connection with it. At Wazirabad I would find time to revise the draft manuscript. In May, when you are proceeding to Kashmir, you can leave one of your stenos with me so that the manuscript may be got typed. This will take about a month, and then the entire material will be posted to you at your Kashmir address, where I am sure you will have ample time to read the draft and make your suggestions wherever necessary.

Q. Yes, I agree, provided the Kashmir affairs do settle. In that case, I could leave with you Mr. A.Y. Syed and you may send him to Kashmir as soon as he has finished his work. At present I am not sure whether I shall be in a position to leave for Kashmir. Arrangements for a suitable residence for me have still to be made. I don't want to be a state guest and fall on the hospitality of the Maharaja because that will restrict my movements and bring me under unnecessary obligations which I don't need. I might stay as a state guest for a few days till I have made my own arrangements for a house-boat.

T. Much publicity is needed for the sale of my two books. As I am to leave in May, Mr. Matlub may be asked to write letters to some firms which can take the stock on sale-and-return basis. (At this stage Mr. Matlub was called in and was asked to write letters as suggested by me.)

Q. Mr. Toosy, I don't like your idea of going back to your old job. You are too good for a school. Your talents are being wasted on a barren soil. Of course, I don't say that you are not doing useful work there; every one of us

is doing useful work in whatever station in life he is placed. But there are some of us who can be more usefully employed in other directions and they must consider if they could not serve better.

T. Yes, sir, I realise this point, but there are difficulties in my way. For the present, I have work in hand. Then I want to pursue higher studies in my own way. I don't want to press you to recommend me for a higher position elsewhere. I want to stand on merit, and for that I need some more study and training.

Q. I appreciate very much that, aside from your duty as Head Master, you could find time to write articles. There is a saying in English, "It is all for the best". If one remains an optimist and faces every need and responsibility in a spirit of confidence, he is ultimately successful. Have you read that famous story of Johnson? He was a great English writer, but for years he had received no recognition for his work and had to live on the verge of starvation. There is one particular incident which raised him from an obscure state to a position of eminence. His mother had died and he had not even a penny to arrange for her burial. He sat by the dead body for two days. In England, the climate being very cold, dead bodies can be preserved for some days. An idea came into Johnson's mind that he should write something to get money. The result of his arduous labour for several hours was his famous essay which is reckoned among the finest writings. He took it to a bookseller and requested to be given only as much money as was necessary to bury his mother. The bookseller agreed and his mother was buried. Later on, this essay commanded such a wide sale that Johnson's name became a household word. However, that is an instance. The choice lies with you. I have explained to you the whole position. There is yet time for you to consider. There is no need to be in a hurry, but a time will come when you will have to make a decision.

T. Sir, in due course of time, I would be in a position to take the final step.

DRAFT OF SPEECH PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR FOR QUAID-I-AZAM

January 22, 1943

ON a public occasion like this when I am expected to address a gathering of young members of our nation whose knowledge and experience of the political problems facing the nation is still in the process of completion, I consider it my duty to explain in brief what the true position of the All-India Muslim League at present is in relation to the British Government and the Hindu political organisations, the Congress and the Mahasabha. As you know, we are meeting in the first month of the new year and have left behind an eventful year when grave political developments inside and outside India seriously influenced the thoughts and sentiments of the people in India as well as other parts of the world.

At a time when Hitler's armies were advancing in Russia and Japanese invasion of India was daily expected, the British Government was forced to send Sir Stafford Cripps with proposals of a startling nature but qualified by many ifs and buts. If similar proposals had been offered a year earlier, perhaps they would have had a greater chance of success. The Congress and other Hindu bodies in particular had assumed an attitude of defeatism towards the present war and were no longer absolutely sure of the victory of the united nations. Some of the leaders in fact openly said that the allies had no chance to win the present war unless they could secure the whole-hearted cooperation of India. Another section under Mr. Gandhi wanted to fish in troubled waters to get the maximum advantage out of British difficulties, and consequently pitched its demands very

high. It was in this atmosphere that Cripps offer was made public. What, however, shocked the Congress leaders most, a fact which they concealed at that time in their public statements but which was revealed in the American press later on by Pandit Nehru, was that the draft proposals indirectly conceded the Muslim demand for Pakistan. Hence all the insistence on India's unfettered control of defence was simply meant to show the profound resentment of Hindu nation at this aspect of the question.

It is now a matter of history how in the face of protests from all quarters and in open breach of previous assurances that no civil disobedience campaign would ever be resorted to without the settlement of Congress-League differences, Mr. Gandhi held out the threat of coercion, though of a non-violent kind, to force the British Government to yield to his demands. This threat, as you know, could not succeed in its object but it has led to numerous acts of sabotage and arsonage causing unnecessary loss of innocent lives and property. Even the sincere efforts of an old and tried leader of Congress, and a personal friend of Gandhi, failed to dissuade him from his purpose. The issue of 'communal unity first', which Mr. Rajagopalacharia perceived like a true statesman as essential for the defence as well as independence of this country, was utterly ignored and he was outlawed from the Congress for advocating that the right of self-determination should be conceded to the Muslims.

I need not go into the details of events after the failure of Cripps Mission, and the hard realization that without a Hindu-Muslim settlement first, the British Government could not be forced to part with power. The position at present is that the Congress still remains obdurate in her attitude towards the Muslim League and its political demands. The Congress wants independence at once, and you have seen how the campaign launched for this demand has failed during the last six months. Threats of coercion and direct negotiations with the British Government cannot be of any avail unless they are backed by the will of a united India. The Hindu Mahasabha also professes independence as its goal, but it believes in responsive cooperation with the British war effort to militarise

and industrialise the Hindu community. It is prepared to wait for independence if its dream of Akhand Hindustan is not disturbed. The Muslim League is willing and prepared to add its strength to the demand for independence provided the right of self-determination of Muslim India is recognised in clear and unambiguous terms and joint action is mutually agreed upon by the two principal parties in their common interests.

It is said that I hold the key to solve the political deadlock. This is very flattering and complimentary, but nobody has yet made any concrete proposals with any authority or sanction behind it. The All-India Muslim League has placed its cards on the table. Its demands have been reduced to a clear-cut and well-defined principle that Muslims want self-determination for those parts of India where they are in a majority. For their demands, the Muslims do not look to the Congress for a gift. They depend on the united strength of their own nation for the achievement of their goal. They do, however, expect from the Congress a proper appreciation of their viewpoint, which alone can facilitate mutual understanding between the Congress and the League.

It is also said that I have the power, influence and authority with the Government to get the Congress leaders released from jail. All this implies sheer ignorance of the issues involved. It is not correct to attribute such power or authority to me. The question of the release of Congress leaders depends entirely upon the Congress leaders and the Hindu public who are solidly behind the Congress policy and programme.

The first question that requires consideration is whether there is any genuine change of heart on the part of Hindu leadership or Hindu public towards Muslim India and the Muslim League. Secondly, whether the Hindu leadership desires peaceful negotiations and an agreement with All-India Muslim League and are prepared to drop their scheme of threatening and intimidating the Muslims with civil war and coercing the British Government to ignore the Muslims and to accede to the Hindu Congress demands at the

cost of fundamental and vital interests of the Muslims of this subcontinent.

I see no evidence of a genuine change of heart, nor do I see any symptoms of a change of policy and programme on the part of the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha, claiming to speak on behalf of caste Hindus, has recently at Cawnpur made the question quite clear and reaffirmed its position that it is determined to subjugate Muslim India and establish Hindu Raj over the entire subcontinent and is ready and prepared to declare civil war if the Mussalmans do not submit and surrender to the clear-cut ultimatum embodied in their resolution, and further that they are going to resort to direct action if the British Government do not submit to or concede their demand for Akhand Hindustan and denounce the Muslim India demand for Pakistan.

Recently, Mr. Amery has made a discovery of historical nature and has been studying the pattern of Akbar's Government as a model for him to follow as a post-war reconstruction of the world and the British Empire of which India is the brightest jewel. Lord Linlithgow also, after seven years stay in India, has made another discovery that India is a geographical unity. Both these discoveries may be an important contribution from the British point of view to our knowledge of history and geography, but they have come too late to serve any useful purpose. The negative effects cannot, however, be denied. They will contribute to the continuance of the political deadlock and consequent delay in the freedom and independence both of Muslim India and Hindu India.

The question is: Should we continue in slavery in a geographically united India, or should we achieve freedom for both nations in a divided India in the shortest possible time.

Another important question is: Do we want Hindu-Muslim settlement before or after independence? The Congress says: "After independence." The Muslim League says the Hindu-Muslim settlement must come before independence. The Congress position is untenable. Without the active assistance of a hundred million Muslims, the Hindus alone cannot force the British Government

to surrender power. The Muslims cannot be moved to plunge headlong into a course of action the aim and object of which has not been definitely explained to them, nor can they be persuaded to choose at the dictate of the Congress such methods during the present war as may likely weaken the defence of the country and invite aggression from Japan or any other power. In either case, it will be merely exchanging of masters. Unless there is a basic understanding on broad principles between the two principal political parties, Muslim assistance in any plan of action can never be freely given.

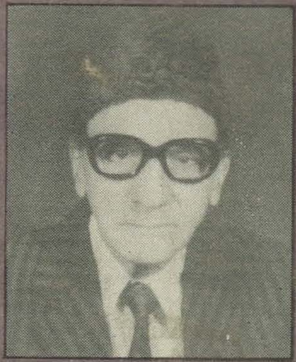
Then, the Congress proposal in the absence of Hindu-Muslim settlement will lead to anarchy, chaos and bloodshed. Mr. Gandhi himself has admitted that civil disobedience without the previous consent of the Muslim League will imply threat to Muslim interests and that he would never be a party to such a course of action. I quote from *Harijan,* Gandhi's own paper. In the *Harijan* of January, 1940, Mr. Gandhi says: "My belief is unshaken that without communal unity, Swaraj cannot be attained through non-violence. But unity cannot be reached without justice between communities. Muslim or any other friendship cannot be bought with bribery. Bribery itself would be cowardice and, therefore, violence. But I give more than his due to my brother. I do not bribe him, nor do I do any injustice. I can disarm suspicion only by being generous."

Earlier, in a press statement released from Wardha on November 8, 1939, Mr. Gandhi said in clear terms: "So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League. No Congress man can be a party to it." The Congress leader, Mr. Rajendra Prashad, supported Mr. Gandhi's statement in these words: "A settlement of the communal question would considerably strengthen the hands of the Congress. Indeed, if we can settle this question, our demands will be irresistible. Even if our united demand is not conceded by the British Government, we shall be able to launch civil disobedience with confidence; for then we shall meet with no opposition from the Muslims."

Two and a half years later, in April 1942, Mr. Gandhi again in unambiguous terms reiterated his views on the communal question after the failure of his movement against the Government by saying that he shuddered at the prospect of India indulging in civil war if the Hindus and Muslims do not unite for the common cause.

It is plain and obvious that independence if attained without Muslim help cannot be retained for long even at the cost of heavy sacrifice, for both the communities will fight to a finish to get their claims enforced and this will naturally lead to intervention and invasion from an outside power. By insisting on its attitude, the Congress is also giving the British Government an opportunity to postpone India's independence indefinitely. It is obvious that the British can transfer power only to a Government which will command the confidence and sanction of the two major communities, and such a consummation at present is impossible due to the uncompromising and aggressive attitude of the Congress and its leaders. Undoubtedly, the British Government is exploiting the political situation in its own interest and seems to be convinced that Hindu-Muslim settlement will never materialise.

The Muslim League cannot reduce its demands unless it were ready to advise the Muslims to sign their own death warrant and to accept the role of pariahs and untouchables within the framework of the Hindu caste system. The Muslims have already fixed their demands in the lowest possible terms. They form one-fourth of India's population and claim one-fourth part of it. It is for the Hindus, who form two-thirds of India's population and claim the whole of this subcontinent, to be fair and just to the Muslims and show generosity of mind and magnanimity of heart by reducing their demands to face the realities of the situation that has resulted from their uncompromissing attitude.



Mr. M. S. Toosy was born in Amritsar on 5th July, 1900. He did his B.A. and B.T. from the Punjab University and served as Headmaster in various high schools for over 36 years. He wrote over 500 articles for newspapers in support of Muslim League and Pakistan during 1939—1945. Most of his articles were published under the pen-name of M.R.T. The Quaid-i-Azam included a selection of his articles in the first book published by him in October 1940 bearing the title *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*.

In November 1942, Mr. Toosy was invited by the Quaid-i-Azam to assist him in compiling, editing and publishing political literature on Pakistan, and he worked in close association with the Quaid for six months in Bombay and Delhi. Two of his books, *Pakistan and Muslim India* and *Nationalism in Conflict in India*, were published by the All-India Muslim League in December 1942 with a Foreword by the Quaid-i-Azam. Iqbal's letters to Jinnah were also edited by Mr. Toosy for publication by the Quaid-i-Azam.

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